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PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREEPENCE

U.S. Government non-plussed by men who have 'NO MONEY FOR WAR'

150 refuse to register for military service

From WALLACE HAMILTON

NEW YORK

A BOUT fifty-five pacifists have now pledged themselves to withhold all or part of their Federal income tax because it goes for war purposes.

In a commission report to the Chicago conference of "Peacemakers" held in early April, tax refusal was described as

"A very effective instrument of civil disobedience against war. Draft disobedience may be mistaken for cowardice, but in the recent (March 15) nation-wide publicity, no case of misinterpretation of tax refusal had come to the attention of the Commission."

The U.S. Government seems to have been somewhat non-plussed by the whole tax refusal business, for it has so far moved against only one of the refusals—Rev. Aleck Dodd, head of the pastoral services for the Toledo (Ohio) Council of Churches.

Apparently the Bureau of Internal Revenue tried to get hold of his property in lieu of taxes, but Mr. Dodd had transferred all his property to his wife's name on Feb. 15. Now the Bureau is trying to get its hands on \$150 of back taxes out of his salary from the Council of Churches. Just what the Council plans to do about it is not now known.

In the county jail

Meanwhile, in this same Toledo, Ohio, (which seems to be a growing hot-bed of

Subversion and Un-Americanism), Larry Gara, a CO of World War II and a teacher of history at Bluffton College, a Mennonite institution, is spending time in the county jail waiting for an appellate court to fix bail on him while his appeal is pending.

Gara has been sentenced to 18 months in Federal prison for advising a former student of his not to register for military service.

Editorialising on the case, the Christian Century asks—"does the decision made in Toledo mean that such advice to follow one's conscientious conviction is now a crime in the United States?" If a man believes that registering for the draft is wrong, "what else could an adviser do than urge him to do what he believed is right? . . . If Gara is a criminal, so are many others."

United by handcuffs

According to A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, there are now in the USA some 150 known non-registrants for the current draft between the ages of 19 and 25. Total for World War II was some 225 with a much larger age-span and call-up. And new instances keep cropping up.

A recent Peacemakers bulletin tells of one William Bisso, a Catholic CO in California, who refused to take the induction oath, but had never heard of such a thing as a pacifist organisation or a CO until

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

New PPU posters

Two of the latest posters are illustrated below, others are in print. Copies will be sent free of charge to persons or groups willing to display them on application to PPU headquarters, Dick Shepard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.



Published by the PEACE PLEDGE UNION, whose members are pledged to "renounce war and never support or sanction another." Headquarters: 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. EUSTON 5501.

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Thousands of men and women in this and other countries, believing war to be wrong, have refused to take part in it. Many suffer for their faith. They are the pioneers of a warless world.

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HONOUR TO A CRUSADER.

Anniversary Presentation to Dr. Belden

A REMARKABLE gathering took place at Church House, Westminster, last Saturday, to honour the distinguished pacifist, Congregational minister and social worker, Dr. A. D. Belden, on the 40th anniversary both of his ministry and his marriage.

Under the chairmanship of the Rev. Alan Green, Moderator of the London Congregational Churches, about 160 men and women, representing many movements and shades of political and religious opinion, met to make a presentation of money and books to a man who had devoted his life and his exceptional talents and energy to an unremitting fight for the application of Christian principles to public life.

Mrs. Belden was unable to be present, her place as hostess being taken by Dr. Belden's half-sister, Miss Hilda Belden, and a close family relation, Mrs. Mawfor Harvard.

No less remarkable than the personnel of the meeting was the large number of sympathetic messages, among them being communications from Sir Stafford Cripps, the Dean of St. Paul's, Canon Scrutton, Dr. Somerville Hastings, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Faringdon, Sir Richard Acland, the Rev. Henry Carter, Sybil Thorndike, Gervil Hall, Clarissa Chubb, Dr. Hughes, Rev. Bannerman Fletcher, Dr. Herbert Gray, and many leading pacifists, including Vera Brittain, Corder Catchpool, Gerald Bailey, Rhys Davies, MP, Stuart Morris and others.

"Establish the Kingdom here"

After the chairman's welcome there were short speeches from C. B. Purdom (representing the "British Renaissance" Movement), Naill MacDermot ("for the younger generation"), Maurice Hann, former secretary of the Shopworkers' Union, who gave a vivid account of Dr. Belden's part in the abolition of the iniquitous living-in system of the big stores of the Tottenham Court Road, Reg Sorensen, MP, Wilfred Salmon of Whitfields, W. H. Lickerish, treasurer of "Pax Christi," and others, who testified not only to the great public activities of their friend and leader but also to that large humanity which enabled him, in the midst of incessant public duties, to pay loving attention to the personal difficulties and problems of all who went to him for help and advice.

In a moving speech of thanks, Dr. Belden, who began by paying his own tribute to "that splendid partner and home-maker,"

CAN THERE BE A "JUST" ATOMIC WAR?

Scottish Church has doubts

A special commission to review the Christian doctrine of the unjust war and its bearing upon the attitude of the Church to war in the atomic age is called for by a resolution passed at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland last Monday.

THE Rev. Professor J. Pitt Watson, presenting the report of the Church and Nation Committee in Edinburgh, said that hitherto they had been almost exclusively concerned with two alternatives—the traditional and the pacifist views.

But the Amsterdam Assembly afforded three alternatives, of which the third, which opened up new ground, was stated thus:

Modern war never "just"

"There are those who hold that even though entering a war may be a Christian duty in particular circumstances, modern warfare, with its mass destruction, can never be an act of justice."

It had been maintained by the Bishop of Chichester in support of that position that if only the Churches would declare themselves officially in that sense they would be taking up "a much more radical attitude to war" than formerly.

Professor Pitt Watson said that he found that argument logically untenable and morally ambiguous.

Inescapable questions

They had to consider anew questions from which they dare not seek to escape.

The first related to the concept of the "just war." In their use of this concept, Christians had never regarded it as applying merely to the end for which war was waged, but as bearing also a definite reference to the means by which it was prosecuted.

After receiving the report, states The



Dr. Belden keenly supports open-air pacifist activities; here he is seen on a joint PPU-FoR platform in Hyde Park last year.

his wife, reviewed some of the experiences of his busy career.

He spoke of his call to Whitfields as "irresistible," because, as a young disciple of his great predecessor, Silvester Horne, he felt compelled to try and do, in the context of the new time, what Horne did in his day, that is, give political articulation to Christianity.

One of the important decisions of his life, he said, was that the Christian Gospel could not win under a policy of purely personal evangelism. We did, of course, need that personal evangelism, and more of it; but by itself it did not fulfil more than half the technique. Only by the combination of the two could they gather the total strength of the Christian Church into a single striking force.

He believed that the Kingdom of Heaven had to be established here; that the world was to be captured for Christianity, not regarded only as a means of approach to another.

It should be noted that the Presentation Fund is still open, and all who wish to contribute should send to the Treasurer, Mr. N. L. Wagland, 35 Norfolk Street, W.C.2.

Well-known Newcastle Pacifist Charged

TESTIMONY TO "POLICEMAN'S IMAGINATION"

JOHN MORLEY, 65-year-old chairman of Newcastle Peace Pledge Union, was sentenced to a fine of £15 or 81 days following an open-air meeting in Bigg Market on May 22.

Police evidence was that he caused "an ugly situation," obstructed them, and used abusive language. Obstruction charge was withdrawn.

The Bench preferred to believe police witnesses, who stated that Morley (the highly respected pacifist and teetotaler whose wide acquaintance know him as a man to whom aggressive behaviour and abusive language is impossible) said he wouldn't close the meeting "for any bloody policemen."

Meeting was orderly

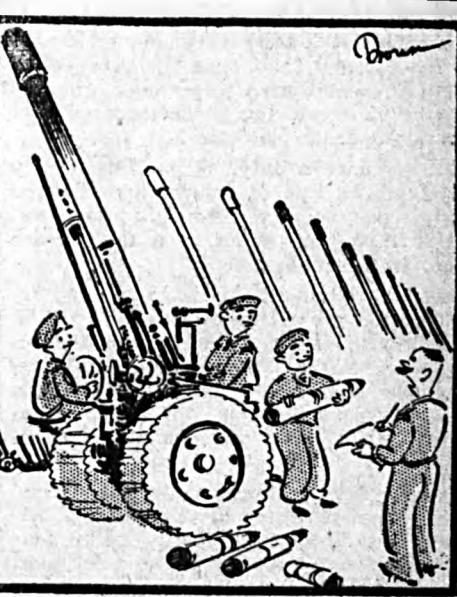
Morley brought three witnesses to testify he did not use those words. The meeting he said was perfectly orderly until the police arrived, when the crowd resented their efforts to close it.

He stated afterwards that the abuse attributed to him "showed a breadth of imagination I did not know any policeman possessed."

Lack of money prevents an appeal being lodged, though an overwhelming number of people have come forward as witnesses. The local PPU will not, however, permit Morley to go to prison, because of his age, and will be paying the fine and £2 2s. costs.

A fearless advocate of pacifism, he went to prison during World War I as a CO, and was imprisoned twice in the last war for refusing compulsory fire-watching; by September, 1942, he and his two sons, Robert and Alan, had been before the Court six times for various war resisting activities.

(From opinions reaching this office, it is clear that this case has had a disturbing effect on many Newcastle people who wish to preserve their faith in the integrity of the police. The Group will continue their open-air meetings, in the Bigg Market on Sundays at 7.30 p.m., throughout the summer.—Ed., PN.)



"Any of you chaps want to attend a lecture on 'Education of the Individual on the Moral and Material Aspects of Civil Life.' (Courtesy of Forward)

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13TH.

NUMEROLOGISTS tell us that 13 is a lucky number for the adventurous, and unlucky only for the timid and the supine. Crossing our fingers, therefore, we remind readers that this is the 13th anniversary of Peace News.

With due acknowledgements to the sound principle that a leading article should avoid domestic affairs, we think this is a fitting occasion for a tribute to the man responsible for its birth.

Relative to the negligible material resources available at the time, the launching of the paper in 1936 was equal in technical ability and enterprise to any event in the newspaper world between the wars.

But what concerns us here is the enthusiasm, determination and sheer devotion which impelled Humphrey Moore and one or two other quite young men to do it, off their own bats, knowing that older and more prudent counsels would have pronounced it impossible.

It was impossible, for anything but the kind of spirit those young men had.

To say that we shouldn't let these young men down is not perhaps quite sufficient reason, by itself, for continued support of the paper, though it is enough for some of us.

What needs saying, however, is that that spirit is still alive in the present generation of young people, and those who have had the illuminating experience of witnessing their energetic and courageous campaigning in obscure places will know the answer to the current talk about the present-day decline in faith and integrity.

But they are not getting the support they should have from the older, the wiser and the richer. And Humphrey Moore's paper, which is almost the only banner these young crusaders have to wave, isn't getting it either.

In this respect, another reference back to the paper's short history is worth repeating.

In 1941 the then Editor wrote: "The impression appears to be prevalent in some quarters that Peace News condones Nazism. It is an utterly mistaken impression and under ordinary circumstances we should have thought it unnecessary to attempt to remove it. But since there is evidence that it is shared by some members . . . etc., etc."

In 1949 the present Editor writes: "For Nazism read Communism. The remainder still holds good."

Such criticism arises apparently from the strange idea that by refusing to regard somebody as your enemy you are thereby endorsing his opinions, or that by calling attention to what is good in him you are condoning what is bad.

It should not have to be said that neither this paper nor any of its supporters is blind to the political crimes of the Soviet Government, nor overlooks those elements in Communist theory and philosophy which are the very antithesis of pacifism.

We are quite aware that Communists have none but a temporary and incidental use for us, and that were the prospective enemy any but Russia they would probably not now be organising peace meetings and offering us their platforms.

But we have a duty, as pacifists, to try and stem the tide of international hatred which is now being worked up, to some extent in this country but to a far greater extent in America.

One way of doing this is to try and remind people around us of what is good in the Russian political system, in the Russian people, and in that large body of enthusiastic young men and women, fired with a sense of determination to right social wrongs, which make the strength of Communism.

Another way is to remind those around us that what is wrong in the Soviet political methods is at least partly due to fear and uncertainty and mistrust, and for that, this country has a huge responsibility, which deprives it of the moral right to judge.

It is, in short, our job to try and create a balance.

Greece: Why not mediate?

THREE was an opportunity for United Nations to act as united nations over the Soviet offer of joint action to stop the civil war in Greece by mediation. Mr. McNeil, on behalf of Britain, rejected it on the grounds that it would be an unwarrantable interference in Greek domestic affairs.

The whole world knows we have been interfering in Greek affairs for years. Why do our national spokesmen go on automatically making remarks which they must know nobody will believe? This is, we know, an old diplomatic custom, but there appears no reason why diplomacy should not progress with the times. In the age of nylons it is still wearing bustles.

Within our life-time, by way of adaption to the changing habits and mentality of the age, the Football Association has altered the offside rule twice and the Church of England has allowed women preachers to get as far as the chancel steps. Only the Foreign Office ignores the passage of time.

Condemning the Greeks to misery

THE war seems to be at a deadlock. First we read that the rebels are in a bad plight because aid from Yugoslavia has ceased. Next we read that the guerrillas are as strong as ever, while the Government forces are urgently imploring more military assistance from US. The apparent truth is that the war might go on for years, until complete social chaos and misery unwarrantably intervene in Greek domestic affairs.

The pretence that we are defending democracy against totalitarian tyranny in Greece no longer deceives anybody. We are bolstering up a government about as corrupt and tyrannical as Franco's, to which we have refused to send an ambassador. It is pitiful that in 1949, under a Labour Government, we are pursuing a policy in Greece which would have pleased Lord Palmerston.

Hard on FO officials

THERE is an obvious explanation of the cult of insincerity in diplomatic relations.

It is reported that once, when an American high official remarked to Gromyko, "At least we can respect each other's sincerity," Gromyko replied, "Individuals can be sin-

Gandhi

"**P**ERSONALLY I believe," writes F. A. Lea, "that that whole mighty effort to 'rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion' by an exercise of the ethical will, was radically misconceived. It is heroic, but repugnant."

The radical misconception is, however, his own. Gandhi was not the ethical Procrustes that he is misrepresented to be by certain Western pacifist writers. There is no more authoritative focus of his teaching than the injunctions to his own Ashram published as *From Yeravda Mandir*, where we find in the first chapter these crucial words (my italics):

"All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached, *all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive*. But without Truth it would be impossible to observe any principles or rules in life."

We might surely expect of a reviewer in Peace News enough sympathetic insight to understand that Gandhi enjoins non-violence to our own personality and instinctive life as well as to external aggressors. He asserts that the free play of instinct is destructive of personality if not polarised in truth and non-violence; and that when so polarised instinctive life moves through a cycle of growth to what our jargon calls sublimation. Does Mr. Lea find this repugnant?

The comment that the *Autobiography* is "now happily available once more to English readers" may suggest that it has been published in England previously. Unlike the personal revelations of our late violent opponents, Hitler and Mussolini, it has not, although the complete work has been available without copyright and in English since the late twenties. What the Phoenix Press now offers is a handsomely printed and bound reprint of the revised single-volume edition published in Ahmedabad in 1940.

ROY WALKER
London, N.2.

Lectures on his teaching

DURING my last trip to London in January many friends wrote to me that they had not much time to arrange for lectures in their respective places. I had also a crowded programme.

Now that I am in London again and hope to stay there until the end of June,

Commentary

cere, governments never." Whether he actually said that or not, it is true in general. When ordinary individuals dispute, they know that reasonable discussion is their only means to a conclusion. But when representatives of nations argue, they know they have armies behind them. That is, they know that a limit to reasonable argument has already been set.

Their attitude may be expressed—"We'll try argument first, but if the other fellow won't see reason, well, we can always kill him."

This is as great an impediment to intelligence as it is to sincerity. The only reasonable man is the one who believes that reason is his last resort.

It is 300 years since Sir Henry Wotton said, "An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth." For ambassador read any diplomat. It is hard on Foreign Office officials that they should still be submitted to that indignity. However, they can always, if they wish, conscientiously object.

Argument without force

FORTUNATELY for our theorising, we have in our midst examples of people who have discovered the secret of complete freedom and sincerity of discussion.

Believing that majority rule is a form of *force majeure*, the Quakers do not vote at their meetings. No matter who has a train to catch, they continue their discussions until all agree that the spirit of the whole gathering accords with the decision. Theoretically this means a meeting might go on for months. Actually, it doesn't. When people know there's no force behind them it is surprising how quickly they can agree. And in this respect the Friends' proved and practical testimony to the true spirit of pacifism is as encouraging in our day as it was in George Fox's.

Not that it would matter much if their discussions did go on for years. When a decision was reached at least they'd know it was a real one. But forcible endings to discussions never do really end them. The one about how to end war, which began in 1914, is still going on. And it will go on until international discussions adopt the method of a Friends Quarterly Meeting—and rush through the business.

Infantilism

CILDLIKE simplicity has often been recommended and with certain reservations we give it our support. But a child's simplicity depends largely on its having no experience and a short memory. Grown-ups should have both.

I shall be happy to address meetings on "Gandhian ideology and its practice in relation to future peace."

I can address meetings in London and the suburbs up to June 15 and from June 15-30 outside London.

BHIKSHU NIRMALANANDA,
c/o India League,
47, Strand, W.C.2.

LETTERS

Is it a dilemma?

MY attention has been called to your article on the Church's Dilemma in the issue of May 13, based on the report to the Presbyterian General Assembly of its Committee on Church and Community, which makes special reference to the Atom Bomb.

In the article in question you show yourself plainly impatient of any talk about a dilemma, as though it implied defeatism in face of a moral issue.

You go so far as to say that such a document as the report "partly explains why the Church is losing what little hold it had on the younger generation."

I submit that this is sloppy talk. Before making such deductions you ought to have considered the matter very carefully and thought about it very deeply. Let me draw your attention to these two considerations:

1. To speak of a dilemma does not imply that we have reached a dead end. What it does mean is that there is something wrong with our presuppositions, and that we shall find the way through by a re-examination of our presuppositions. The impatient person who will not do this will be the one who has in fact come to a dead end.

2. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of England resolved to remit that part of the report which dealt with the Atom Bomb to its committee for further consideration, in order that it may produce another report on the subject next year. This is not defeatism. On the contrary, it is a challenge to "the younger generation" to rally its powers of intelligence, and engage in mental as well as in moral fight. Only those who are too lazy to do so will cover their cowardice with shrieks about defeatism.

W. S. FERRIE

14 York Road,
Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Arnold Brecht, in the New York Times, suggests that the U.S. should propose to the Soviet a "Safety Belt Pact," which would mark out a group of countries like Germany, Austria and Scandinavia, into which both sides would agree not to move troops unilaterally.

Sad. Here is a grown-up person who has lived through two wars and still believes that any rules of war ever survive the outbreak of war. Send him a rattle.

Nationalist mentality

THE effect on the American Press of the liberation of Eisler reads like something out of Martin Chuzzlewit. The fact that it was a triumph for the impartiality of British justice was overwhelmed by patriotic hysteria.

Strangest comment was by Republican Representative Clarence Brown: "What gratitude . . . ! What a demonstration by the British Government of the sacrifices we have been making!"

According to reports, this "ingratitude" idea caught on and became the general chorus. What it amounts to is—"We've done a lot for you. You might at least commit a little act of injustice for us—it's only a small one!"

Trivial, perhaps, but indicative of the difference between individual and collective morality, especially when the latter is influenced by that poisonous mixture of prejudice and prestige which is nationalist sentiment. A man who talked like that about a purely personal relationship would be black-balled from his goose-club. But it is permitted when he talks on behalf of his nation.

Moral story

OF important bearing upon the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris was an incident last week in the Piccadilly Tube in London.

At Caledonian Road Station, man sitting in carriage with leg outstretched didn't move them when second man wanted to get out. Second man removed first man's legs. Man attached to legs protested, said they were his legs. Fracas ensued, first man hit second man with life preserver (sic), concussing second man.

Before break next morning, fined £20, first man said: "I went berserk. Unfortunately I had this weapon, and I hit him with it."

Morals: (1) To have weapons with you during a discussion is always liable to be unfortunate. (2) Multiply first and second man by 15 million each and you get a war for democracy.

PPU and the Election

IN reply to Harry Hilditch's letter, I hope the National Council of the PPU will not belittle the importance of the vote at the AGM.

The reference back was not put as a policy resolution, and delegates understood that no change of policy was involved as the Council were already empowered to contest Parliamentary elections.

I wish to urge

- (1) the appointment of a committee to give effect to the decision of the AGM.
- (2) the calling of a special conference in the near future to hear and discuss plans.
- (3) the appointment of members to the new National Council who are in favour of running PPU candidates. It will be a thousand pities if the enthusiasm and determination accorded Frank Hancock's proposal comes to nothing.

C. E. TRITTON

Shepherd's Corner,

Ringmer, Sussex.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

POCKET MONEY

SOME weeks ago I suggested that where readers of Peace News found it difficult (as many undoubtedly do) to subscribe from their ordinary income as much as they would like to give to PPU, they might perhaps send us some of their spare time by earning extra pocket money in one way or another for the benefit of Headquarters Fund.

I told of a doctor who was giving additional lectures and of an elderly lady who was knitting for the PPU. Since then I have received a regular contribution from a member which represents money she earns in teaching shorthand.

Could any reader suggest similar ways of helping? Or, better still, let me have a contribution from extra money which is earned in this kind of way.

MAUD ROWNTREE

Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions since May 13: £4 5s. 0d.
Total for 1949: £57 7s. 8d.
Budget for 1949: £300.

Donations to the fund should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

HERMANN STOHR, the bravest man I knew, was UNARMED AND UNAFRAID

THREE is a book written by Pierre Clostermann, the Free French air ace, called "The Grand Circus." It is a moving testimony to the courage of the men who knew that each flight might be their last.

Perhaps its finest passage is one which tells of the death of a certain Walter Notwotny, a German ace. "Notwotny," says the writer, "is one of us. He is part of our sphere where we admit neither ideologies nor hatred nor frontiers."

How can a man who brought down 45 enemy planes talk like that? The reason is that courage is the principle virile virtue, which refines the spirit of those who are animated by it.

But must courage always mean destruction to the adversary? Will it always need to sow hatred and a thirst for revenge among its victims?

★

WHILE I was in Germany I had to go from Lüneburg to Hamburg. It being Sunday there was no transport, so the British Military authorities commandeered a German civilian and his car to take me.

In vain I tried to converse with my driver. He hated me, visibly, because I belonged to one of the occupying powers. When we reached one of the suburbs he stopped his car and pointed out to me a shapeless pile of bricks, the remains of a bombed building, and opened his mouth for the first time.

"Under there," he said, "the corpse of my father has been lying for three years." Starting up the car, he stopped again 200 yards further on and pointing to what had been the street corner, said, "That's where my sister found my mother next morning, but she had gone mad."

Then he added: "And you'll tell me that the English airmen who did that, in the tragic night of the first air raid on Hamburg, who, with their phosphorous bombs, set fire to 16,000 old people, women and children like torches, so that all they could do was to throw themselves into the canals to put out the flames that were burning them up—you'll tell me that these airmen who went home again to tea and toast, who the next morning went back to their families and perhaps to church to take Holy Communion—you'll tell me that these airmen can teach us democracy and Christianity and can moralise us on what has taken place in German concentration camps?"

"Well, I tell you, they haven't the right! And all they've taught me is to wish to find a means of some day avenging the crimes they've committed!"

PASTORAL

IHAVE often been intrigued by the quiet humility of the words, "He must increase, but I must decrease." Jesus Himself said of the speaker that among men born of women there was none greater.

We tend to under-estimate the work of John the Baptist. Yet, years after John had finished his work, Paul found a company of worshippers who had heard of John, but not of Jesus. John achieved amazing success. "Then went out to him Jerusalem and Judea and all the region round about Jordan."

He had no need for bright, breezy evangelism. His stern austerity was sufficient to draw the crowds. His preaching was practical. "Him that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none." To soldiers, he gave the seditious advice, "Do violence to no man." To the tax-gatherers, he said, "Extort no more than that which appointed you."

Then there came what was surely a difficult moment in the life of John. He knew that his work was done. He had sacrificed ease and comfort and family joys for a greater cause. Now the hour came when he had to give way to One greater than himself.

§

Not all of us have the supreme wisdom to know when to efface ourselves, and give place to others. I have heard men say, with pride, "I have been organist of this church for forty years," or "I have always been secretary of this society." But suppose a man arrives with greater musical gifts or superior business experience? He may perhaps be a man who has wasted his substance in riotous living. What does that matter if his gifts are greater than ours? We must give place to those of greater gifts than ourselves, even if it means that others may get the praise for achievements which were really our own.

John was able to say, "I am a voice." He was content to be the messenger travelling ahead, the road-maker who had to

A FEW days later I was told it had been arranged for me to give a lecture in an internment camp where 6,000 members of the Nazi Party were imprisoned. I protested I wasn't at all keen, but I went, and addressed 400 of them in a barracks.

Giving up the idea, after my Hamburg experience, of loading them with accusations, I told them quite simply the story of a French village under German occupation. They listened patiently until I spoke of the Jews. When I declared that between four and five million Jews had been systematically exterminated in the gas chambers, the disapproving murmurs burst into a tempest.

"It's a lie!" they shouted. "It's Allied propaganda! And what have the Americans done to our cities, and the Russians to our women? We won't let you speak if you're going to lie like that!"

I let the storm pass, and declared, "I wish I could tell you I am mistaken. Unfortunately the facts are there, the documents prove them." Then I let them speak. There was a chorus of protestations. "We aren't responsible. We knew nothing of what went on. We have been held here illegally for months . . ."

I was completely discouraged, and was blaming myself for having come, when a little man at the back of the hall took the floor. This is what he said:

"I don't understand anything about this 'responsibility of nations'. People say the Germans are guilty. We reply that it's the Americans, the French, the Russians. But what is a guilty people? I don't know what collective responsibility is; all I know are individual sins. Are you looking for guilty people? I can show you one straight away!"

In profound silence, everyone turned to him with curiosity. "I am the guilty one!" he cried. "Oh, don't think I've killed my fellow-humans with my own hands. But this is my guilt. In 1934 I entered enthusiastically into the Nazi Party believing sincerely that Hitler was the saviour of my people. When he declared war on Poland I realised he was committing a political crime. As Nazi leader in my village I was supposed to communicate the Party circulars to the people. Although I had my doubts, I played along like everyone else.

"In 1942 I heard of what was happening in the concentration camps, and how Jews were being exterminated. Comrades, don't say you knew nothing about it. We all heard rumours, but preferred to believe they were only enemy propaganda. Why? Because we knew that if we spoke we ran the risk of going there ourselves. Out of cowardice, although my heart was no longer in it, I followed the herd.

"And that is my sin. I am guilty of fear. There is no collective guilt of the German people, but simply of individuals—

each guilty of keeping quiet when he should have spoken out!"

I was profoundly moved by this man, whose words visibly hit home to his audience. I asked him, "Dear friend, not only the Germans here but I also, a Frenchman, can confess this sin, for I have often been afraid, as you have. Tell me how you found the courage to speak as you have done."

"It's simple," he said. "I've thought a lot, shut up in here, and I wrote to my wife, 'Send me my Bible.' It was in that Book I discovered that there is no collective responsibility, but only individual guilt."

The meeting broke up in excitement. I went to shake the hand of the man who had expressed much better than I the essentials of what I wanted to say. Since then we have corresponded. He has become one of my friends.

★

MANY thousands acted as he did, either repenting of sins committed during the war, or from the first, refusing to be carried away in the infernal cycle of hate, fear and massacre.

The bravest man I knew was my friend Hermann Stohr, a publicist from Stettin whom I met at conferences.

In 1939 he refused to put on uniform. Brought before the German People's Court in Berlin, he was condemned to death. His Chaplain, Pastor Polchau, tells me his defence was so noble that the Tribunal, at the moment of giving sentence, was moved to tears.

After the verdict, the president sent for him and said, "Stohr, I was obliged to condemn you, for German military law is inexorable. But in my soul and conscience I believe you are innocent. So I ask you to sign your appeal this very evening. Though it is never done, I, the president of the Tribunal that condemned you, will support your request!"

So he did. But Stohr's lawyer, through a tragic mistake, sent it direct to the Führer, who, in a towering rage, ordered Stohr to be executed.

He was beheaded with an axe. But the chaplain told me that his last hours were a triumphal entry into the world to come.

There have been and there will be soldiers who die for their cause.

But I believe that those who really prepare a better future are the courageous ones who die without harming either their enemies or their executioners, the witnesses and the martyrs like Hermann Stohr.

writes
ANDRE TROCME



André Trocmé, one of the founders of the French section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is now one of its secretaries. He recently toured Southern Germany at the invitation of the German section of the FoR.

The international secondary school, which he founded in conjunction with Pastor Eduard Theis in the little French village of Chambon sur Lignon, in the Cévennes in 1933, became a sanctuary for Jews and political refugees when war broke out in 1939.

Eventually the Collège Cévenol attracted the attention of the Vichy police and the Gestapo, and André Trocmé was interned for five weeks in a French concentration camp. Later he was threatened with death by the Gestapo and went into hiding.

The article has been released to Peace News by the World Union for Women for International Concord, 37 Quai Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland, who ask women all over the world to give it their serious attention.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, May 26 and June 2, 1939

We think no apology is necessary to our readers in reprinting this long extract from Ethel Mannin's "Re-armament of Roses" which appeared in Peace News ten years ago.

For a few moments stop brooding on the European situation and indulge in a little fantasy.

Supposing that instead of the insane world-wide drive to increase armaments this tremendous output of money and energy were concentrated on something which would beautify the world instead of assisting in its mutilation and destruction. Supposing that the competition between nations was not to pile up armaments but, let us say, roses.

It is estimated that 27,000,000 rose trees are grown in this country. Very well, then the Cabinet decides, at a momentous meeting involving an entire change of policy, that this number must be doubled.

The Press immediately comes to the assistance of the Government with a campaign for whipping up public enthusiasm. Patriots write to the papers demanding compulsion, insisting that we shall never achieve the required strength without it; let us give a lead to the world with compulsory rose tree growing, they urge.

Others again urge the value of voluntary service, pointing out that no roses are so luxuriant and fragrant as those grown voluntarily, for the love of the thing. The Government repeats that it has not yet exhausted the possibility of voluntary effort, and various Cabinet Ministers point out that the voluntary rose garden will always be worth two conscripted ones.

Employers begin to discriminate against employees who are slack about their rose-growing, and to give additional holidays with pay to those who spend their evenings and weekends patriotically cultivating roses. Everywhere in the streets now are to be seen loyal citizens wearing the official wreaths and crowns of roses which indicate that they are playing their part in the national scheme. It is becoming a uniform.

The Press apportions praise and criticism, and imparts the news of the campaign at home and abroad. Holland, hitherto stubbornly neutral with bulbs, has decided to rear with roses, in self-defence. Switzerland politely intimates to the League of Nations that if it would kindly vacate Geneva the site could be converted into a rose garden.

France has set her refugees to work all along the Maginot Line planting bush-roses

a hundred deep in the new tricolour of red, white and pink.

The Russians are ploughing up the steppes and planting regulation rose trees by Stakhanovist methods.

Germany's troops are on the march with shovels to dig rose-beds all along her frontiers—Hitler plaintively insisting that Germany has a right to as many rose trees as anyone else; the Democracies reply that roses must be matched with roses, and the campaign at home intensifies. "250 Volunteers for New Rose Planting Unit," "Rose-garden Volunteers," "Technical Units Face Great Lag in Recruiting. Many Municipal Rose Garden Units in the provinces still urgently needing gardeners to complete rose gardens before they can begin raising their second-line rose-beds, had staffs at work yesterday. Technical units almost everywhere are in difficulties because their recruiting must be restricted to skilled gardeners. Until the authorities urge the importance of men of rose-growing age now in 'reserved occupations' joining the rose-growing army this serious lag in these important branches of the service will not be removed." "United States Support for Rose-Growing Campaign." "New Rose Garden a Week: Record Output."

There are, of course, the inevitable internal, domestic bickerings; the Labour Party in a National Unity Alliance with Liberals and Communists insists that the only roses of any value are those of palest pink; the Independent Labour Party, refusing Popular Front collaboration, insists that the people's rose is deepest red and refuses to grow any other. The Trade Union movement expresses its willingness to co-operate with the Government in the campaign at recognized trades union rates.

So the world moves forward, to the brink of . . . undreamed-of beauty, the nations vying with each other in its creation in such a rearmament as civilisation has never known.

"Think Again!" That is the appeal made by the Peace Pledge Union to all men who will, tomorrow, register under the Military Training Act.

". . . Oppose the Act by all means possible, and if it is impossible to scotch it by Parliamentary means go on resisting individually when you receive your calling up papers.

"Go to the Tribunal and fight your case. If you lose your case, go to prison rather than give way."

JOHN VINCENT.

HE WANTS NEW ZEALAND CONSCRIPTION

The sob-stuff of Sir Patrick

From A. C. BARRINGTON, Our New Zealand Correspondent,

SIR PATRICK DUFF, United Kingdom High Commissioner for New Zealand, is greatly in demand as a speaker at all manner of functions.

Trade follows the flag, so I suppose it is quite natural for a Trade Commissioner to put the pressure on for war preparations wherever he moves. Especially in a country like New Zealand which is about to have a referendum on military conscription.

Sir Patrick, anyway, has been spreading himself before the Christchurch Rotary Club, and the Christchurch Press gave more than a column to reporting him. It was something of a sob-story: how Britain had spent herself in defending these distant children of hers, only to have them live off in independence, forgetting their obligation to share the between-the-wars burden of a defence line encircling the earth.

Sentimental enthusiasm for "Aid-to-Britain" campaigns, said Britain's spokesman, almost implied a kind of charitable aid for poor relations, and tended to obscure the stern reality and duty.

What's this but sentimental?

New Zealand, from her birth a century and more ago, has been blessed with two Fairy Godmothers, Mother Nature and Mother Britain. Through that century she was protected by Britain's Fleet, with Britain's finance at call.

Britain's manpower and Britain's treasure were deployed all over the world, shielding the growing members of the Empire family in their adolescence. The bandwagon of Britain laboured on; the passengers enjoyed the view, paid no fares, and proclaimed their equality and independence. New Zealanders, however, were an impressive exception, contributing the 'New Zealand' to the Royal Navy and introducing compulsory military service in 1909.

The Dominions rose manfully in the 1914 war, but after that 'reverted.' Now, once again, they have called their troops home.

He calls them "police"!

"They leave, again today, all the trouble-spots throughout the world to be policed by Britain—this time in conjunction, mercifully, with a great nation which has learned, in rapid and majestic fashion, the responsibility of a great power, the United States of America. Yet these British Commonwealth democracies should have learned that wars cannot be isolated; that distance has evaporated; that the flames of war spread like a flash."

"Do you ever give so much as a thought to the responsibilities which the United Kingdom is carrying for your benefit today?"

"The British Navy is bigger than it was in 1938. The RAF is over three times the size that it was in 1938, and far more powerfully equipped. The British Army is over three times the strength that it was in 1938."

"Every young man in Britain between the ages of 18 and 25 is liable for 18 months' military service. Britain's youth stand watch and ward, maintaining the cordon of defence all over the world—occupation forces in Germany and Austria, troops in Greece, troops in Trieste, forces along the lines of communications in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, forces in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, defence agreements with Burma and Ceylon, garrisons in the Far East (for example Hong Kong), forces in Malaya, contingents in Africa, contingents in the West Indies. . . ."

"When such vast upheavals, such momentous redistributions of power are taking place in the sight of all men and when such aggression and malignant intent are openly displayed and announced, future historians," Sir Patrick concluded, "may well express astonishment at the unconcern with which so many proud young nations refuse to accept their proportionate share of common defence."

A priest's apt comment

Thus Sir Patrick Duff. Two days after this report the Press published a letter from an Anglican priest, the Rev. R. P. Taylor.

He reminded readers of the war-time promises of a New World Order made by British, Russian and American leaders, and compared those promises with Sir Patrick's recital of Army, Navy and Air Force increases and the impressive list of "trouble-spots" which we

have left to be "policed" by British troops.

He asked: "Would Sir Patrick call it 'policing' if it was Russia that had her troops in those places?" And he added: "I hope his address will help people to realise the wickedness of the proposal to impose conscription on New Zealand."

Indian economist's warning:

FORCES ARE PARASITIC

Army increases famine risk

A WARNING that India's increasing armed forces are a menace to her food supplies is given by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, Indian economist and pacifist, in a recent article in Harijan, the paper founded by Mahatma Gandhi.

He points out that recruits are largely drawn from the rural areas and are introduced to such habits as smoking and drinking on entering the forces, in addition to consuming an amount of food above the national average.

"The armed forces are largely parasitic in relation to food," he writes. "If we wish to check this to any extent, it will be necessary to draft their manpower into our food production."

"A good deal of the energy and time of the military forces are non-productive, if not destructive. Their energies during peace time could well be channelled into production of food."

"During the foreign (British) rule the officers preferred to stay in big cities in specially constructed cantonments. Now there is no reason why such sites should be occupied. Army units may well be stationed away from the civil population, in cultivable waste lands and, with the enormous resources and engineering skill at their disposal, be made to bring cultivable waste land under the plough."

"This method . . . will enable the young men in the army to be trained in up-to-date agricultural practices and be made manure-minded and better-seed-minded. Above all, a certain amount of the food shortage could be made up."

(Continued in next column.)

NO PACT FOR THE PACIFIC

Asia remembers too much

From Richard Hauser

SYDNEY, N.S.W.

THOUGH a Pacific Pact has been discouraged at Washington, there are many who continue to hope that such an alliance may follow the North Atlantic Security Treaty.

"An Atlantic Pact plus a Pacific Pact," they argue, "would mean global safety."

Such talk, however, ignores profound differences between the two areas at virtually every point.

In the Atlantic area are sovereign

Richard Hauser, *Worldover Press Correspondent in Sydney*, is a social scientist who has taken a post in Australia after distinguished service for the International Refugee organisation in Italy, where he specialised on delinquency problems and introduced new standards of court and social work procedure.

countries with long traditions of government.

In the Pacific, there is a mixture of sovereign Dominions, over-populated ex-colonies, dependencies smoldering with hatred of their white masters, colossal nations like India and China with a myriad problems in every region.

The Japanese lost the war, but even in defeat they destroyed the ancient blind faith in the magic greatness of white rulers. Millions in the coloured races came to see that, after all, the fabulous whites were human beings like themselves, capable of suffering, not able to escape indignity.

In countless minds today a belief exists that the white man, if need be, can at long last be thrown out. It is highly probable that any war action on a substantial scale would mean the end of all white rule in Asia.

Asia remembers

Even Japan, which has suddenly been promoted from the worst boy in the class to the best, and become the pride of the teacher, has been converted pretty fast. And throughout the East as a whole, there is a willingness to co-operate with the white West only when the latter shows a spirit of understanding and equality.

Asiatics do not forget that the white race gave them historically the same gifts it gave Africa—alcohol, syphilis, modern weapons—and in the last war, loveless romance for soldiers' cash, Hollywoodiana, and a first-hand look at the atom bomb.

(Continued in next column.)

NEWS IN BRIEF

MORE than 40 million human beings, equal to one-third of the population of the USA, lost their lives in World War II, according to the April Harper's Magazine.

The cost runs to four trillion dollars (\$4,000,000,000,000).

This is roughly equivalent to throwing away all the goods and services produced by every farm, factory and working man in the USA for the last thirty years.

The Harper's estimates, reports Peace Action, were prepared by Dr. C. Hartley Grattan.

Efforts in Pakistan to pacify the Mahsud tribe, long a source of trouble on the NW frontier, are being made by the Karachi Government, which is promoting a resettlement plan to raise living standards and give the tribesmen greater security on the land.

The New York War Resisters' League, along with the New York FoR and Peacemakers, sponsored an anti-war Easter Sunday demonstration in the midst of the Fifth Avenue Easter parade. The demonstrators wore colourful cardboard Easter bonnets bearing peace slogans. Mat Kauten, who designed and made up the bonnets, was arrested along with Jim Peck. The others proceeded down Fifth Avenue unmolested.

Only 28,000 Jews are now living in Germany compared with half a million in 1933. Most of them will emigrate by the end of this year.

A recent resolution passed by the German Peace Society urges German Governments to withdraw the rights of citizenship from all German scientists who have supported the invention of destructive weapons and to declare the scientists "Criminals against Humanity."

In the National Service Life Insurance policies, which are the civilian policies to which veterans in the last war could convert their war-time insurance on discharge, appears the following provision:

"Any person guilty of mutiny, treason, spying, desertion, or who, because of conscientious objections, refuses to perform service in the land or naval forces of the U.S., or refuses to wear the uniform of such forces shall forfeit all rights to his insurance."—Fellowship.

SWAFFER ON BRITTEN

Press tribute to pacifist musician

HIgh praise for the personal integrity of Benjamin Britten was expressed in last Monday's Daily Herald by Hannen Swaffer, the well-known columnist.

In an article significantly headed "Six Men of Courage," he recalls the "spiritual revival after the last war, lit with the tiny spark struck by Robert Owen, fanned by William Morris and made to burn brightly by Keir Hardie, speaks of the "need for courage and determination in every section of society" and asks—"To whom, then, can we look for our example? . . . Whom would you choose as an example of courage?"

Describing men of eminence who have stood for unpopular causes—Stafford Cripps, Dr. Barnes, Rev. Michael Scott, Henry Moore and Laurence Olivier, he adds:

"In the field of music, perhaps the most snobbish of the arts because it so long relied on 'Society' patronage, Benjamin Britten has had the temerity to risk his high repute by championing unpopular causes. He possesses not only genius but moral fervour."

"Little did the fashionable crowds that recently acclaimed his 'Peter Grimes' more loudly than any operatic work since Puccini, know that he was a member, for instance, of the Peace Pledge Union."

"He has, at long last, won admiration for a British opera; and he has also retained his soul."

FOOTNOTE: It may be noted that Dr. Barnes is also a member of the PPU, so that two out of the six living exemplars of courage and determination in Swaffer's list are pacifists. One in three is not a bad proportion.—Ed., PN.

In this part of the globe the word democracy does not have the same glamorous sound as in the Atlantic area, where sometimes the worst offenders against democracy nevertheless call their regimes "democratic" and hope people will believe it. Here the word Communism is beginning to have magic; it is adopted by people who have no idea what it actually means, apart from getting rid of old masters. For the little man, in much of the whole Pacific area, Communism signifies exactly the contrary of what he has now—or rather of what he lacks now.

With this background, only one kind of pact can succeed. That is a pact to get these young and vigorous people on their feet as partners. Only by fighting hunger and illiteracy, by showing Eastern countries how to run their States through running Western ones peacefully, can the West win their support.

legislation. As "compensation," a mild beer is being introduced at low prices. This experiment is being watched by other countries troubled by the drink problem.

While a group of Marylhurst (California) schoolgirls were being served at a "drive-in" restaurant recently, they noticed that the establishment discriminated against Negroes. A few days later the local paper, The Oregonian, printed a letter from one of the girls, on behalf of the group, declaring that thereafter none of the members would knowingly patronise a restaurant practising such discrimination.

Swiss federal authorities have turned down the request of peace organisations that the conscription system be modified to provide alternative service for conscientious objectors. However, they have cancelled an order for 100 military training planes, so that the funds may be used, instead for European relief work.—W.P.

Answering a question in the House of Commons recently, Mr. Alexander, the Minister for Defence, said that it "would be contrary to public policy" to disclose the cost of maintaining British troops in Greece since 1944.

Britain had only 23 tanks in France and Belgium in May, 1940, according to a statement made by Mr. Raymond Blackburn in the Commons on May 4.

The following figures, subject to correction, were given of the incidence of VD among young conscripts in the British Army of the Rhine by the War Minister in the Commons on May 17:

	1948	1949
1st quarter	.9	.7
2nd quarter	1.2	
3rd quarter	1.0	
4th quarter	.9	

IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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PEACE MUSIC & DRAMA

Prison and asylum

If there should be anybody reading this who, having survived, since then, also read the first column two years ago, he or she will recall that it was made clear that we were not to deal in exclusively pacifist commodities.

However, an attempt has been made to give house room to all specifically pacifist items. This time I fall back on the terms of reference originally laid down, because I am not going to write about the play briefly mentioned here last time (*The Wrench*, by Terence Greenidge) even though it has Peace News as a "character." That play, in a tiny London membership theatre, could be seen by a scarcely measurable fraction of PN readers.

I choose to be less parochial, and write of a double event in the film world; an event of some moment to all progressively-minded people; to all interested in the social sciences; to all interested in the treatment of the misfits in our community.

One film—the much-publicised *The Snake Pit*—deals with life in an American mental hospital; the other is about an English prison: *Now Barrabas*. The films had a special interest for me as a one-time mental hospital nurse and an enforced guest in three of HM's prisons.

The regrettable thing about *The Snake Pit* is the attendant ballyhoo. I am led to the conclusion that the publicity boys worked up the controversy for their own ends as the best method of bringing the

film into the public eye. The best advice I can give anybody intending to see this film is to forget almost all the words that have been written about it.

The story is well-known. Indeed it is scarcely a story; it is a clinical case-history, leaving the hospital only for a few flashbacks. A young woman is in a State mental hospital. By psychotherapy, supported by physical treatment, her disease is diagnosed and cured. (Unfortunately they can think of nothing more original than a father fixation.) That is all.

No child under sixteen may see the film. I will not say that is a wrong decision, though I know personally a few children below that age whom this film would not harm. But I am quite sure that I have seen scores of films immeasurably less suitable for children which have not been banned to them. But "For adults only" is good publicity.

It is not shocking

The film is not shocking. Please repeat that, Mr. Printer. The film is not shocking. It is neither sensational nor morbid. It excites only a healthy pity for the mentally sick, admiration for those who lovingly care for them, rage at those who are unkind and unimaginative.

It will challenge many ordinary people to revising their attitude to mental illness (thus backing up some of the good work done by the BBC). It may even surprise some parents into fresh realisation that the seeds we sow in our children now will flower, for good or ill, in the future.

It is a brave, sincere and honest film and I feel sure it was made with the intention to do good. It is not, of course, a light evening's entertainment—why should it be?—but it has its own thrills and interest.

It is greatly helped by its players, most of whom lovingly serve it, not just act in it. Particularly is this true of the two leading characters; the doctor (Leo Genn) and the patient (Olivia de Havilland). Neither of these two puts a foot, finger or eyebrow wrong, and Miss de Havilland's performance is clearly one of the best ever.

A prologue to the film is at pains to point out that this is an American hospital and of course this can't happen here. *Sancta simplicitas!*

But for a few things, this could have served as a portrait of the large British hospital in which I served.

Much of it was unhappily familiar. As I read the prologue's assurance that a patient in a British hospital was certain to have the maximum "sympathy and understanding from nurses and doctors alike," I had a mental flashback to the time when an old-hand nurse advised me, when I was making painful efforts to give a painless shave to the underlathered and over-wrinkled old men, not to take so much bother—"slash about; a few cuts won't hurt them."

His own patient's face was streaming with blood. And I have seen too many patients kicked and beaten to be impressed by such a prologue.

I wished to remind the writer of it that wherever men have power over others, but no love, there inevitably will be cruelty and abuse.

Now Barrabas

AND so to prison. *Now Barrabas* emphasises the weaknesses of the play and does little to improve its strong points. It is, however, a film which it is good to see on the screen, for cinemagoers will find it not only entertaining but informative. And it is high time the British public was given some idea of prison life.

This film does not give them the worst of it, but it has managed to convey a real sense of being *inside*. It might have achieved this even more without the irritating flashbacks (shall we ever see a film without them?) which are used to tell how some of the men came to prison. Had each prisoner been allowed briefly to recount his own story that would have added to the closed-in feeling, and at the same time given each character a chance to be filled-out a little.

Again, although *Now Barrabas* is not an anti-capital punishment film, it might help a little to achieve the atmosphere required for this change, for it does incidentally show how hanging is not just a matter of statistics, but a matter of a man being taken out of a cell and killed by other men.

Good acting helps the film along. The prison governor (Cedric Hardwicke) and the Irish saboteur (Richard Burton) are especially good and William Hartnell as the tough warden is so excellent that I suspect him of having gone through a prison sentence just to study the type. If the women had to be brought in—and I can't see why—then Kathleen Harrison as the bigamist's first wife could not be bettered; a comic *tour de force*. And the little son she brings with her is a microcosm of all London's dead end kids.

Vintage Shaw

SPACE forbids a mention, at the length deserved, of the work of the Tavistock Little Theatre, in London. It is important that they should be well supported. They give workmanlike and often really excellent productions of interesting plays, and have just added to their laurels with *Androcles and the Lion*. This is vintage Shaw. *Androcles* can scarcely fail; some of the acting was very neat, and a good time was had by all.

The first London performance of Benjamin Britten's Cantata, "St. Nicholas," will be given at a Festival Concert in Southwark Cathedral on June 23, at 7 p.m.

ROGER PAGE

June 3, 1949, PEACE NEWS—5

Pacifist Profiles

41

HEM DAY was born in Belgium in 1902, and his work for pacifism has been distinguished by the fact that for long it was an unaided struggle in an unsympathetic environment.

He is a man of independent and original mind, who came to be a pacifist, while still a youth, through a spontaneous realisation of the essential meaning of war.

After the first war, his adolescent mind was profoundly impressed by the results of war as reflected in the deplorable conditions of the working class. Little by little, he says, he began to realise what wars did, and it aroused in him a strong desire to study the why and wherefore. He had no one to turn to, and gradually found himself be-



HEM DAY

coming dissociated from the influence of education, family and environment.

To refuse to be a soldier, when the time came for his conscription, was for him "the dramatic moment of his life." His problem was how to make such a resolve without provoking sorrow and misunderstanding in his family. He found only that his youthful idealism clashed hard against the realities of a world insensitive to the imperative demands of his conscience.

He reported at barracks, resolved never to handle arms, and found himself posted to a non-combatant administrative service. But though this provided a temporary compromise he was uneasy in such a position and later resigned—a step which involved loss of political rights.

Meanwhile, however, he had continued his studies and had formed sufficiently firm ideas to throw himself into pacifist and political propaganda, with the aim, among others, of achieving the recognition of conscientious objection to military service. The effort did achieve official discussion, but the project was finally buried in bureaucratic archives.

Hem Day will doubtless be best known by his additions of a series of books and pamphlets under the general title of "Pensée et Action," notable among which are Han Ryner's "Clericalisme et Liberté," B. de Ligt's "Mobilisation contre toute guerre," "XXX's" "Homage à Gandhi" and others. Under some 30 titles these editions have totalled over 100,000 brochures. Among them are a creditable number from his own pen, including "Francisco Ferrer, sa vie, son œuvre," "Le châtiment de Dieu," and "Homage à Georges Echoud."

Delegates to the Shrewsbury Conference last August will remember Hem Day's Report on "Direct Action and Non-violence."

VEGETARIANISM

as a humane practice demands the consideration of all pacifists.

Write for literature, and recipe books (Vegetarian for Beginners 1s. 1d.; Vegetarian Recipes 1s. 6d. post free) from the VEGETARIAN SOCIETY (Est. 1847), Bank Square, Wilmslow, N. Manchester.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

Write to-day for FREE BOOK

is a "disturbance centre" in subconsciousness generating negative impulses causing self-consciousness, lack of confidence, nervousness, worry, weariness, withdrawal, sociability, lack of enterprise, stammering, blushing, forgetfulness, "nerves," sleeplessness, etc.

To fight these forces directly is in vain—ERADICATE THEM FOR EVER by reconstructing within yourself a powerful, positive subconscious mind, as revealed in remarkable FREE Book, which has transformed the lives of thousands. Write to-day. All correspondence is confidential.

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.2: 8 p.m. Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane; Film Show "Children of the Ruins"; "The World is Rich" KRO Germany; London Group IVSP.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; address and discussion: Central London PPU Group.

Saturday, June 4

WORTHING: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 47 Downview Road, West Worthing; Area Conference for West Sussex; speaker: Hugh Faulkener. FO.R.

Sunday, June 5

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Speaker: Jack Sutherland; Stoke Newington PPU Group.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air Meeting, PPU.

Thursday, June 9

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, June 10

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bull Street; Dr. Alex Wood; "The Work of the National Peace Council"; Birmingham Peace Council.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Policy meeting; Central London PPU meeting.

Saturday, June 11

BILLERICAY: 4 p.m. Harrods Farm, Outwood Common Road; South Essex Area Conference; Rev. Lewis MacLachlan; FO.R.

Sunday, June 12

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; Stoke Newington PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

Thursday, June 16

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Monday, June 20

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m. St. Martin's School of Art, 109 Charing Cross Road; "The Menace of War and the Weakness of Christendom"; Ven. Percy Hartill (Anglican); Rev. Alan Balding (Free Church); A Roman Catholic Priest; Chair: Lady Parmoor; APF; FO.R. and PAX.

PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly

To M..... (Newsagent's name)

Name.....

Address.....

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Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 3d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

CENTRAL LONDON Group PPU, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1, 7.30, June 3. Meeting: 10 Herman Peschmann B.A., on "Poetry and Anarchism; Herbert Read, Alex Comfort, etc." 17 Group Policy; 24 Hilda von Klenze "East and West."

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION

BUSINESS WOMAN requires two unfurnished rooms in quiet house within reach Oxford Circus. 30s. a week approx. Box 63.

RYE FOR holidays. Pleasant bed-sitting room; double-bed, gas ring, fire, 1s. slot meter, water tap. No attendance. £1 weekly. Write Stoessiger, 32 Hornsey Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

SEASIDE HOLIDAY accommodation for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innesfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

MOUNT AVALON, Glastonbury, Somerset. Holidays in attractive country house.

Magnificent hill views, lovely walks. Few minutes historic town and Abbey. Cheddar Gorge, Bath, Somerset coast, etc., easily accessible. Exclusively vegetarian, own garden produce. Terms moderate, s.a.e. for brochure. Mrs. R. F. Hunt.

BIDEFORD, DEVON. Holiday Accommodation. Good food. Children welcomed. "Dalhousie," Chudleigh Ave.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons. 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

PLANTS FOR sale, Brussels Sprouts, cabbage, etc. 3s. per 100. Frank Trend, FRHS, Gilmore Farm, Brushford, Dulverton, Somerset.

BAMBOO GARDEN Canes, Chinese imported, Rama and Wood Garden Labels. Every kind of Cane for Canecraft supplied, wholesale and retail. "Raffia Work & Basketry" for beginners 2s. 9d. post free. Further details, Whines & Edger, The Bamboo People, Godmanstone, Dorchester.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.1.

BOOKS REVIEWED or advertised in PEACE NEWS and every other book or pamphlet now in print can be obtained from the Friends' Book Centre, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

PERSONAL

ATTRACTIVE EDUCATED woman 41, vegetarian, normal but lonely, desires companionship man 40-50. Box 62.

LONELY? JOIN Friendship Circle. Details 7d. Secretary, 34 Honeywell Road, London, S.W. 11.

WALKER PRINTING Service, 175 Fleet Street, E.C.4, invited enquiries for quality printing—books, catalogues, pamph

World citizen flies in - and out

HE TRIED TO MAKE BEVIN COME TRUE

SWEDISH-born Anders Clarin arrived at Northolt Airport last week without a passport, declaring himself a World Citizen.

Friends of five nationalities were waiting to greet him, but the British authorities were unsympathetic and Clarin was obliged to return to Brussels by the same plane.

Clarin informed the Immigration Officers that he had merely tried to make Mr. Bevin's words come true, so that Englishmen could go down to Victoria station and buy a ticket and then travel at will without passport or other formalities.

Anders Clarin, who is 38-years-old, left Sweden last July to join the World Citizen Movement founded by Garry Davis. He himself was the founder and Chairman of the first Swedish Federalist Organisation, Världsfederalisterna i Sverige. When I reminded him that even his own father had described him as being "as idealistic as a new-born babe," he laughed and said that babies were no more idealistic than he was.

Aims of world federalism

"I say that world federalism is not idealism, definitely not," he declared emphatically. "It is extreme egotism. We need not go as far as psycho-analysis to understand this. When we want others to federate with us, we want to establish a relationship which we consider will be profitable to ourselves."

Asked to explain, he went on: "The same motive is common in all efforts to establish good relations when people live together—in law-making, town planning, community building, programmes of social benefit, party politics and so on; even the rules of good behaviour demonstrate it. Likewise, egotism is the motive for world federalism."

Warming to his theme he continued: "Don't try to make me believe that you want the Eskimos, the Germans, the Greeks, the Norwegians, the Chinese and the Argentinians to federate under world government because you want to help them live in peace and freedom and be forever happy. And don't try to fool yourself that your kind heart is your motive."

We are realists

"Above all, don't try to make others accept the plan of world government on an idealistic basis. We are realists, who base our notions on the belief that men will always differ, and that they must therefore institute government among themselves."

Hardly pausing to draw breath, and seldom knowing which language, English or Swedish, he was speaking, Clarin went on:

"The federation of states and nations is a political matter—consequently the way to effect it must be by the political method. Politics have very little to do with idealism, except when idealism is used as a persuasive instrument for a political end."

"Be frank and honest about it: federalism is egoism. It can't be made too clear to ourselves and to others that we want world government for the benefits which we shall all derive from it."

It seemed to me a great pity this ebullient visitor was not enabled to interview any of our tired politicians, particularly those in the Cabinet.

HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

ALEXANDRA DAY APPEAL

CILDREN'S Social Adjustment Hostel School which has the PPU Chairman, Miss Vera Brittain, Dame Sybil Thorndike, T. Corder Catchpool and other pacifists connected with it, has been allotted a part in the Alexandra Day collection. Readers of Peace News willing to sell Alexandra roses for some time on Tuesday, June 21, or take part in house-to-house collection on some evenings prior to this date are invited to get in touch with Mrs. Gwyneth Anderson, 36 Carlton Hill, N.W.8, (Tele: MAI 8201; PRI 9158).

Southend and district

Will those interested in forming a PPU Group and displaying posters in this area please contact D. Cort, 290 Southbourne Grove, Westcliff-on-Sea.

PAL. 4745	By Appointment Resident Patients Accepted
Reg. J. BAILEY	Osteopath-Naturopath & Bates' Practitioner assisted by
MARIAN E. BAILEY	Nature-cure-Chiropractor
99 Arnos Grove, Southgate, N.14	

Back to a United Germany

By FRITZ KÜSTER

We are glad to publish a contribution by the Editor of "Das Andere Deutschland," who was arrested after the Hitler elections of 1933 and freed from a concentration camp after the Nazi collapse.

THE conference of Foreign Ministers in Paris will determine the destiny of Germany and probably of all Europe for many years.

The alternative of a third war is so terrifying that we must assume no responsible human being would reject any possible means of reaching an understanding. As both blocs may now be convinced that their policies so far have led to the cul-de-sac of war-preparations, some mutually acceptable modus vivendi may be acceptable.

All German democrats and pacifists unreservedly welcome suggestions of German de-militarisation. But that is little use while conflicting interests threaten again to make Germany a battlefield, meanwhile maintaining standing armies on both sides of the "curtain."

Such a situation would lead only to the revived ascendancy of the pre-1933 ruling class. Militarism and nationalism would NOT be eliminated!

For us Germans, therefore, the alternatives are: in the event of a Paris breakdown, to demand the assurance of absolute neutrality for all Germany; or in the event of positive Paris results, the abolition of the four Zones and the permission for a united all-German government.

Only then could Germany fulfil her true function of a bridge between East and West.

● NO MONEY FOR WAR

(Continued from page one)

he was handcuffed to another CO in the office of the Federal Marshal.

Report from the Peacemakers conference in Chicago contained the announcement of the resignation of Cecil Hinshaw, President of William Penn College in Iowa. During the past couple of years Penn has attracted nation-wide attention for all manner of activities; absolute racial equality, hearty welcome to returning COs, teaching of pacifism. This proved a little hard for the trustees and patrons of the college to take.

But hardest of all was the fact that during Hinshaw's regime, Penn didn't win a single football game! So Hinshaw was pushed out. (He's now working for the FoR.)

To found new college?

Said the Peacemaker's report from Chicago conference: "It was recognised that (Hinshaw's resignation) was an important event in Peacemakers history, since Penn had in a very real, not the formal, sense been a Peacemakers project... Several faculty members have also resigned as of the end of the academic year and a good many students will leave.... There was considerable discussion of various possibilities such as having the key faculty members and some of the students found a college elsewhere."

It is not unlikely that some of the rump Parliament of Penn may join forces with the rump Parliament of Olivet College in Michigan which is currently planning to found a new college called Shepherd, after going through a somewhat similar academic revolution.

In a farewell message, retiring President Hinshaw stated, "There is a rather widespread feeling that Penn's programme through these last few years cannot be a real failure. In other institutions and in many lives the ideals taught and practiced here will be carried on. Perhaps it may even be that the seeds here planted will produce a far richer harvest elsewhere."

Buddhism and the West

ON May 27, Robert Horniman gave Central London PPU Group a talk on "Indian Philosophy." He began with a survey of Indian thought from 3000 BC to the present day and continued by giving an exposition of Buddhism.

The speaker felt that this form of thought had a great value for Westerners, especially pacifists.

He pointed out the many similarities between Buddhism and Christianity but stressed the great difference: that while Christianity maintained that the soul remains distinct throughout its development, the Buddhist believes that the mind is always changing and all one can do is direct it towards perfection.

Question time evoked a description of King Asoka and a discussion on the status of women in India.

BUT IT WAS NO ANSWER

"PIFFLE! You're talking rot!" was not an answer to the pacifist case, Sybil Morrison told an ex-Army officer heckler who interrupted her at a public meeting in Lancaster last Friday.

Apart from this interruption, Sybil Morrison was well-received by an attentive audience which filled the Friends Hall. A lively discussion followed her address in which pacifists and non-pacifists joined.

If Russia should agree to the establishment of free elections in the Eastern Zone (and I am reliably informed she is so prepared) then the Russian offer, whatever her prevailing reasons, should not be rejected.

Questions of Ruhr-administration and Eastern Germany's inclusion in Marshall Aid could then be regarded as problems of secondary importance to be subject to mutual compromise.

Meanwhile, so much being at stake, all disturbing manoeuvres, within and without, conceivable during the negotiations, should be suppressed by the competent authorities.

Our wish is not back to Potsdam, but forward to general agreement on German unity!

Territorials for Malaya?

THE speaker at the Finsbury Park open-air meeting last Sunday, Albert Tomlinson, Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, made especial mention of the new Auxiliary and Reserve Forces Bill which is shortly to be introduced into Parliament.

Under the provisions of this Bill all Territorials will, in future, be liable to be called out for home defence without a proclamation of a State of Emergency, and, if necessary, to be sent for service overseas once they are called up.

The War Office representatives, at a recent Press conference, had some difficulty in defining the type of overseas emergency for which Territorials, or other reservists, might be called up and agreed with a suggestion that recent events in Palestine or Malaya constituted the type of emergency which the Bill had in view.

When Albert Tomlinson suggested to his audience that fighting in Malaya was a strange way in which to defend one's home in this country—the stated object of service in the Territorial Army, according to official propaganda—several members of the audience pointed out that they must first have a home to defend.

Speaker and audience then agreed that the Territorial Army propaganda should refer to "defending the homes you haven't got!"

The next meeting in this series, organised by the Stoke Newington PPU Group, will be addressed by Jack Sutherland.

LETTERS

(from page two)

I FIND that the illustration I used at the Stoke Newington open-air meeting has been misunderstood. The second part of it should read—"that father would have been far more shocked had he seen his trainee son explaining to the younger son the new methods of killing."

I was uttering a general warning against the peril to all our youth, involved in the permanent establishment amongst us of modern training.

I urged that 150,000 lads each year cannot be given this dreadful information about "unarmed combat," without it seeping through into our families and becoming the common knowledge of the whole community.

The only way to stem this flow of deplorable knowledge is to quench its fountain in universal military training. I brought no charge against any particular trainee and regret that such impression was given. I laid the whole responsibility upon the fathers of our land.

(Rev.) CLAUD M. COLTMAN
Weigh House Church, W.1.

STUDENT FEDERALISTS TO HEAR BOYD ORR

WORLD Student Federalists, youth section of the World Movement for World Federal Government, are holding their annual congress in Amsterdam this summer from August 21-28.

Speakers will include Lord Boyd Orr.

Entertainments are being arranged which will include a reception by the Mayor of Amsterdam, boat trips through the harbour and canals, and visits to places of historical interest. There will also be swimming, boating and tennis.

The Student Federalists will be guests of the Dutch World Government organisations and the Municipality of Amsterdam.

Information can be obtained from Sheila Webster, Co-ordinating Secretary, World Federalists in Britain, Little Thatch, Rumwell, Taunton.

Clergy stand by gaoled COs

American ministers at this year's Ohio Pastor's Convention took a clear stand in favour of conscientious objection and passed a resolution declaring their support for "all who act at the behest of conscience, whether they request the classification of religious CO, whether they must go to prison because they are not granted the classification of a CO or whether they feel they cannot conscientiously register for a peacetime draft and are therefore sent to prison."

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"Guinness is good for you."

ONE of the problems in the PPU today is the lack of support from young people.

A new generation has grown up since Dick Sheppard sent out his letter; a new generation conditioned almost at birth to a belief in the war method.

They will not, even if we had any contact with them, be converted over-night to a belief in pacifism, but at least they should know that there is a society which bases its very existence on war-resistance, and into whose company every new member brings strength and hope for the future; a society which offers fellowship and understanding and the opportunity for useful work for peace.

How are we to let people know of this society? We cannot repeat the inspired appeal to the imagination of youth contained in Dick Sheppard's call to renounce war; what appeal can now be made to you?

A hundred thousand of us renouncing war did not prevent war, and frustration, war-weariness and disappointment seem to have set back our work.

Yet those of us who hold to the pledge know that war is no answer to the horrors of Belsen nor the tyrannies of the Police State, and that our simple statement of our refusal to accept the evil of war as a means of destroying these evils is the first step towards finding the right answer.

Their poster—

As I write this, returning from Lancaster on a slow Sunday train, my heart is warmed by the remembrance of an afternoon and evening spent with fellow pacifists, friendly and tolerant to each other's differences, all eager to do something, all facing the same problems, and struggling with the same difficulties, and then, looking out of the window, I saw the words "Guinness is good for you."

Some people think it is, and some think it isn't, but there are very few people in this country who don't know that the makers of Guinness think it is!

Wherever you travel, or however you travel, on foot, by bus, by coach, by rail, by air, somewhere those five words will meet your eye. The most sincere total abstainer probably cannot say that he has never heard of Guinness.

The tens of thousands of pounds spent in this kind of advertising is not within our means, but that need not prevent us from using the same methods. To be effective we must draw in members; to draw in members we must do what Dick Sheppard did, let our aims be known.

And ours

On the front page you will see reproductions of two new posters, two more are in preparation. One member in Southend is collecting shillings to enable these posters to be shown on the hoardings throughout the town for some weeks. If poster sites cannot be afforded two pieces of cardboard and a bit of string makes a perfectly satisfactory sandwich board. Everyone has a window, if not a gate, on which a poster can be displayed.

This is not simply because we wish to advertise ourselves; it is an essential part of our work that our aims and objects should be widely known; the youth of today has never heard of the Peace Pledge Union and when he first hears it he may not agree with us but at least he knows, and there may be many who are waiting today to know.

On Whit-Sunday in Hyde Park, the PPU stand will carry the poster with the pledge. There are two thousand copies of that poster at Dick Sheppard House; let us join together in having it shown all over the country, so that in future no one will be able to say that they had never heard of the Peace Pledge Union.

As the advertising agent said in *It Pays to Advertise*, "Get 'em blessing, get 'em cursing, but don't let 'em ignore you."

We do not need thousands of pounds, we need something rarer than money, energy for the work, courage to face the difficulties, and faith to remove the mountain of prejudice and apathy.

SWANSEA ANTI-CONSCRIPTION PARADE

FORTY people took part in an anti-conscription parade in Swansea on National Service Registration Day, May 21.

Permission to hold an open-air meeting on "The Bombed Site" was refused by the Borough Council and as a result a protest has been lodged with the Home Secretary.

The parade was the second of a series to be held on registration days.

Groups planning demonstrations and parades on the next National Service Registration Day, September 3, the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, are asked to send details of place, time and speakers to Peace News by August 20 in order that they may receive the widest possible publicity.

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